

The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, EDITORS.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST

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SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

From the Boston Reformer.
Progress of Public Sentiment.

SLAVERY—Mons. &c.—The Anti-Slavery Society was prevented yesterday from celebrating the anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands, by a mob which collected about the building where they were to assemble. The mob was composed of southerners, respectable merchants of the city, and saucy boys. No violence was committed, for the society finding the mob at their doors, and the entrance to the hall closed by the lessee of the building, quietly returned to a private house, from whence, after some conversation, a prayer offered by the editor of this paper, and the singing of a hymn, they separated for their homes.

We hardly know in what terms to speak of this new outrage upon the rights of peaceable citizens. After the gentlemanly mob of last October, we had supposed our city had become sick of mobs, and we believe it has. We cannot persuade ourselves that the mob of yesterday, was countenanced by any great number of our own citizens. We believe Bostonians to be too enlightened, too much attached to law and order, to countenance such proceedings more than once in their lives. What was done yesterday, we attribute to the instigation and influence of southerners, and if any Bostonians of respectability joined, it was those who are most deeply interested in southern markets; those who, perhaps, fear that any efforts here to benefit the slave will result in injury to their pecuniary interests. Besides, we suppose, there are among us not a few who hold mortgages on slaves, and into whose hands slaves have fallen to pay debts due from their owners. We should like to know how many of those who have no sympathy for the slave, but a vast deal for the slaveholder, are in fact, though living in a free state, slaveholders themselves.

But let this pass. These mobs come too late in the day. They are a species of argument that will not convince. If the anti-slavery folks are wrong, they will hardly be mobbed into the right. Opposition unites them together, and carries them forward. Nothing will make one more attached to a cause, than to suffer in its behalf. To abandon a cause for which we have suffered, for which we have been persecuted, is impossible. And the anti-slavery folks are now persecuted, and so persecuted, that we may be assured that they will never abandon this work in which they are engaged.

This is not all. There are men in the community who cannot look tamely on, and see their fellow-citizens, their brothers and sisters persecuted for advocating the cause of humanity. We are too near Faneuil Hall, to patiently see men and women mobbed because they would assemble peaceably to rejoice that a portion of our fellow beings have been set free. We are too near the cradle of liberty, to hear it charged upon some one of the best Christians of the city that they are incendiaries, because they cannot believe it consistent with the rights of man or with Christian love, that slavery should exist. Mobs call these men out and compel them to speak.

When peaceable women cannot assemble to hear from a respectable clergyman of the city, an address in commemoration of the emancipation of slavery in the British West India Islands, without being mobbed, we deem it time to speak, and to speak out in a tone that cannot be mistaken. It is no longer a question, whether the abolitionists have been judicious, and always just. They are persecuted; they are wronged; their rights are denied them; and every man who has sympathies, who apprehends humanity, will be on their side. These mobs are leaving us no chance of escape. We must either abandon all pretence to a love of freedom for even ourselves, and come out the decided advocates of slavery, or we must speak out in behalf of the abolitionists. These mobs will not suffer us to be neutral; they compel us to take sides. And can a New England man, can a Bostonian, hesitate which side to take? Is there a man among us to advocate slavery? If there be, we will call upon him to speak, so that we may know him. And we say to all those who are the friends of human rights, of their country and of religion, also to speak; now is the time. Their voices are needed, and it is criminal to be silent. Let them speak out for free institutions, speak out for the wronged, the persecuted, above all, speak out for the slave, and swear in the depths of their souls that slavery shall cease.

For ourselves, we have hitherto said very little on this subject. We have never been able to go with the abolitionists; we have never approved of their modes of proceeding; but we have no liberty left us. As the conductor of a public journal expressly devoted to the melioration of humanity, and owning no party but mankind, we cannot be silent. We must speak, and however much the abolitionists may have been in the wrong, their cause now becomes the cause of every freeman, patriot, philanthropist and Christian. It is a fearful crisis, and we to the coward spirit that would shrink from it! It must be met, and manfully; and it shall be. If southerners can come here and mob peaceable women, they shall be made to know that there is here too much of the spirit of the pilgrims to bear it in silence. If they can come here in open daylight and instigate, and in part form a mob, we tell them now, that from this time, henceforth, and for ever, that we espouse the cause of the slave, and that we will not cease to importune his owner till he is free. We have here at the north suffered enough from southern dictation. It is enough that the south bullies the north in Congress; she must beware how she attempts it in this city.

From the Salem Landmark.
The Cincinnati Mob.

The last riot at Cincinnati, and lawless destruction of the printing establishment of Mr. J. G. Birney's "Philanthropist," appears to us to be striking a heavier blow at the liberty of speech, the freedom of the press, and the right of free discussion, than any of the outrages of a similar character, which have preceded it, in all the catalogue of mobs and outbreaks, which have stained the history of the past eighteen months, in this boasted free, enlightened country. We cannot find words to express our indignation at such despotic oppression, and the

melancholy forebodings which fill the mind, as we contemplate such open and gross violations of the moral and civil rights of our citizens.

Who that loves his country will not blush at the recital which we publish to-day? and who can refrain from the anxious inquiry, "What are we coming to, and where are these things to end?"

A citizen, in the conscientious discharge of his duty, as a man, a freeman, a lover and friend of his fellow men—against whom no crime or offence is alleged, who is not even charged with any special act of provocation,—is assailed and interrupted in his peaceful and rightful occupation, his premises demolished, his property plundered and destroyed in open day, in the face of a community of laws, and by a mob who claim to be "respectable" members of society! It is even so. And for what? Because that individual dared to follow the dictates of an enlightened conscience, rather than those of a morbid, reckless, unprincipled desire for gain; because he dared to believe, what reason and revelation so plainly teaches, that man can have no right of property in his fellow man, that slavery is a violation of human rights, and the law of God; and because he dared to speak as he believed, and raised his voice calmly, and candidly, and faithfully, in behalf of his oppressed fellow beings!

We have before said, that Mr. Birney's course, in the management of his paper, has appeared to us to be prudent, judicious, and kind. It is impossible to reconcile the treatment he has received with any principle of right or justice. He is hunted down like a wild beast, on the general ground of being an abolitionist, and publishing a paper which maintains that slavery is wrong, and inconsistent with the institutions of the country.

But the most fearful aspect of this outrage, is its general bearing upon the freedom of the press; and the evidence it affords of a popular spirit of misrule and contempt of the law, which threatens the peace and permanence of the nation; encouraged and authorized as the outrage has been, by "large and respectable meetings of citizens." Strange that men can be so lost to a sense of reason and right. Shame upon them, that they value so lightly the laws of the land.

No power can correct these evils but public opinion; and when that shall cease to be a safe and adequate remedy, the crisis will have arrived when we must yield to an abridgment of the liberty of the press and of speech, or to the breaking asunder of every bond which binds social and civil society together.

It is a licentious mob, and not a free press, which threatens our liberty and social happiness. The press must be free: free with an enlightened freedom—which seeks the general good at the hazard of private interests; which fearlessly exposes every design upon the public welfare, whether it be for personal aggrandizement or party success. It must be free with a moral freedom, maintaining with unflinching fidelity the rights of man and the supremacy of the laws. From such a freedom there is nothing to fear, but every thing to hope. Demagogues and slaveholders may dread its influence and tremble at its power, but the friends of rational liberty and public virtue will cherish it as the surest safeguard of a free government.

Mr. Birney, who was thus hunted by the Cincinnati mob, is well known in the western states as an eminent lawyer. He is a native of Kentucky, and is allied to the first families in that state and Virginia. Becoming more and more attached to the doctrines of the anti-slavery party, he abandoned a lucrative profession and established in Cincinnati, a paper called The Philanthropist, which has now twice been broken up by violence. He is a man of great ardor and resolution of character, and is not likely to give up his design but with his life. Those who, influenced by the fear of injury to the trade of Cincinnati with the south, have stirred up these riots to drive him from his purpose, will probably find that nothing short of murder will effect their object, and even in that frightful event nothing will be gained, for others equally ardent and enthusiastic will rise up in his place.—N. Y. Eve. Post.

Mr. Birney is absent, and therefore has nothing to do with the insertion of the above article.—Junior Editor.

From the New York Evening Post.
The Cincinnati Mob.

The Cincinnati Whig has an account of the late disgraceful riot got up at that place ten days since. The Whig allows that the outrage which occurred was of a most unfortunate and disreputable character, but says:—

"The incendiary abolitionists among us have been the wicked cause of a reproach to our city that every man must lament. Those heartless fanatics have sinned with their eyes open, and after having been appealed to by every consideration of patriotism and good order, and warned of the inevitable consequences of their mad and diabolical determination to persist in the publication of that loathsome paper, manifestly in reply to the citizens' committee, to insult our southern brethren, condemn the proceedings of the great Anti-Slavery meeting, recently held in the Market House, and unblushing, in defiance of the almost unanimous voice here, to proclaim the most disgusting and revolutionary sentiments."

If such arguments as these are a justification of the Cincinnati riot, there is no outrage and no violence which cannot be excused by similar considerations. Suppose the Whigs should take into their heads to suppress the Evening Post for supporting Mr. Van Buren, suppose they should call a meeting on the subject, and pass resolutions appointing a committee to remonstrate with us, and to tell us that if we persisted they would not be answerable for the consequences, and suppose in their concluding resolutions they should threaten that if we did not abandon the cause of democracy, they would compel us to do it by violence. What answer should we naturally give, what answer should we be bound to give to such remonstrances and such threats? The answer of defiance—open, unshrinking defiance. If we did otherwise, we should confess ourselves to be cowards and slaves. Suppose, then, the Whigs in their just indignation, should assemble a mob and break into our office, destroy our papers, burn our books, scatter our types, heave out our press, drag us to the East River, break it to pieces, and throw it into the dock, and be content with this, should search the city for the conductors and their friends to commit violence on their persons. Would any single print in this city venture to disgrace itself by speaking of such an outrage in the terms used by the Cincinnati Whig? Would it venture to say:—

"The incendiary Van Burenites among us have been the wicked cause of a reproach to our city that every man must lament. Those heartless fanatics have sinned with their eyes open, and after having been appealed to by every consideration of patriot-

ism and good order, and warned of the inevitable consequences of their mad and diabolical determination to persist in the publication of their loathsome paper, &c. &c."

We will not pursue the parallel any further; the ridiculousness of treating the question in this manner is too evident. It was the folly and madness of the mob and their leaders which have brought this reproach on Cincinnati, and not the conduct of those who simply persisted in the exercise of a liberty secured to them by law. The tyranny of Austria might as well say to those whom it imprisons for talking politics, that the fault was their own and not that of the government, which imprisoned them only to make them silent. The press in our country is free from legal tyranny; it must be free, also, from the more terrible tyranny of mobs.

Alarming.

In speaking of the recent outrage in Cincinnati, the editor of the National Enquirer makes the following remarks:—

These outbreaks of popular fury, emanating from the corrupt fountain—the hot-bed of SLAVERY—if not checked by the moral energy of our citizens, will soon overturn and scatter, and destroy, the whole fabric of our free government. There is but a single step from our present position to a state of anarchy, the boundaries of which are the confines of despotism. A recurrence to fundamental principles is, therefore, absolutely necessary. The constitutional basis, the organic structure, the attributes of power, and the whole plan of operations, which distinguish this government from all previously formed, must be examined, and more clearly understood. And unless our citizens pay a speedy attention to this investigation, the words "Hic jacet" will soon be inscribed upon the tomb-stone of our cherished Liberty.

From the Free Press.

Anti-Slavery Meeting.

An Anti-Slavery Society was formed at New Petersburg, Highland county, on the 29th of August, of 118 members.

OFFICERS.

Hon. Thomas Young, President.
Col. Thomas Rodgers, } Vice Presidents.
Charles M. Johnson, }
Rev. Jacob W. Eastman, Cor. Sec.
Daniel Gilmer, Rec. Sec.
John R. Strain,
John Stevenson, } Managers.
James McCoy,
Wm. Wilson, Esq.,
William Garrett, Treasurer.

The following resolution was adopted by the society:—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this society, the Resolution offered by Wilson N. Brown, at the Lower Market House Anti-Slavery meeting of Cincinnati, and by them adopted, was peculiarly appropriate to the object for which that meeting was convened. As the conduct of the Boston boys in destroying the tea manifested a desire to exchange a tyrannical government for a republicanism, so the conduct of the Lower Market House meeting manifested a desire to exchange a free government for a despotism.

EMANCIPATION.

Education in the Bahamas.

One of the most pleasing influences of the abolition of slavery, is the impulse it always gives to the intellects of the emancipated. It not only removes obstructions and gives access to the means of improvement, but it stirs up the minds of the people to prove their privileges. This is found to be the case throughout the British Colonies, even during the continuance of the most oppressive and unreasonable system of apprenticeship. We find some pleasing evidences of this effect, published in the April Quarterly Extracts of Correspondence of the British and Foreign School Society, with regard to the islands of the Bahamas.

The Island School Commission report, that His Majesty has accepted the patronage of the proposed King's College, and that Parliament have appropriated £5000, for the establishment of Normal schools, and £20,000 for the erection of school houses in the colonies. The committee then recount the several infant and other schools in the islands. The most serious difficulty arises not from the backwardness of the people to learn, but from the want of competent teachers. This difficulty will be eventually remedied by the projected Normal school concerning which, we find in the "correspondence" the following statement:—

Projected Normal School Establishment, in the Bahamas.

It will be highly gratifying to the friends of the liberated negroes in these islands, to hear that effectual steps have recently been taken by His Majesty's government to supply the educational wants of these islands. In consequence of communications from the Governor Lieutenant Colonel Colebrook, application was made by the Colonial Department, to the British and Foreign School Society, for an individual fully qualified to go out and take charge of a Normal School in Nassau for the training of teachers. Mr. McSwiney, late master of the British School at Derby, who had long cherished a wish to be employed in the promotion of scriptural knowledge in the West Indies was selected for that purpose, and introduced to the notice of the government; arrangements were immediately made with Mr. McSwiney of the most satisfactory kind, and he expects to sail for New Providence in the course of a few days. The committee cannot but hope, that, under the divine blessing, this appointment will prove highly beneficial to the population of the islands. The estimation in which Mr. McSwiney was held in Derby, has been evinced in the most satisfactory manner, by the kindness and attention he has experienced, from the friends of education there, in the prospect of the present undertaking. Before his departure, two public meetings were held of a most interesting character. At the first he received from the children of the school (300 in number) a valuable day and night thermometer, the voluntary tribute of their affection; and at the second he was presented with philosophical apparatus, to the value of £50, which was paid for by public subscription in the town. The church and congregation under the pastoral charge of the Rev. J. Gawthorn, with which he was more immediately connected, also testified, in a very gratifying manner, their affectionate regard for him, and the sense they entertained for his consistent Christian character while united with them. The committee refer with the greatest satisfaction to these circumstances, from the fact of Mr. McSwiney having been under their patronage from childhood. He was first a scholar, and then a monitor at the Borough Road, and in this way became a teacher in their schools.

A letter is also published from the Rev. Theophilus Pugh to the committee, respecting the "very great desire manifested, among the black and colored population especially, to obtain instruction, both for themselves and for their children." Mr. P. says that, "could this laudable desire be met by suitable means for their education, some of the worst effects of slavery would be done away." He then gives a tabular statement of the island of Eleuthera. The population is 1859, comprising 335 families, in six settlements. Of these, 618 are youths between the ages of 5 and 20, of whom 589 can read or are learning. An infant school is much wanted there.

From the Rev. Theophilus Pugh, to the Committee, July 13th, 1835.

You will be pleased to hear that there is at present a disposition in the Bahama legislature to promote education in the colony. It has lately passed an Act to encourage the establishment of schools throughout the Bahamas. The Act provides, that, in every settlement, where the inhabitants will build a school house or school room at their own expense, the colony will provide a school master, provided the expenses of the master's salary, &c., shall not exceed £200, Bahama currency. The amount of the master's salaries will be regulated according to the number of children in the different settlements, according to the discretion of his excellency the Governor, who is very anxious to promote the best interest of the colony.

The inhabitants in some of the islands in the Bahamas are widely scattered; but there are many large settlements where there are not any day or Sunday schools, and consequently the children are growing up in ignorance and vice.

Till the late Act, which was passed in April last, out of a population of 4153, all under 14 years of age, provision was made for only 100 children. No provision made for the instruction of the children of the slaves but what they got at the Sunday schools connected with the mission stations. I am happy to state that in all the schools supported by the colony, the distinction of color is entirely done away.—N. York Evangelist.

Can the Slaves, if Emancipated, take care of themselves?

The returns laid before the House of Commons, in 1826, give the following information: it includes a period of five years from First month 1st, 1821, to Twelfth month 31st, 1825, of the state of pauperism in each of these colonies.

"Bahamas.—The only establishment in the colony, for the relief of the poor, appears to be a hospital or poor house. The number passing through the hospital annually, was on the average fifteen free black and colored persons and thirteen whites. The number of free black and colored persons is about double that of the white, so that the proportion of white to colored paupers is nearly two to one."

"Barbadoes.—The average annual number of persons supported in nine parishes, from which returns have been sent, is nine hundred and ninety-eight, all of whom, with a single exception are white. The probable amount of white persons in the island is fourteen thousand, of free black and colored persons four thousand and five hundred."

"Belize.—The white population amounts to about six hundred, the free black and colored to about nine hundred. In 1822 it appears that there were seventeen white and two colored paupers."

"Demarara.—The free black and colored population, it is supposed, are twice the number of the whites. The average number of white paupers, fifty-one, that of colored, twenty-six. In occasional relief, the white paupers receive about three times as much as the colored."

"Dominica.—The white population is estimated at about nine hundred—the free black and colored population was ascertained, in 1825, to amount to three thousand one hundred and twenty-two. During the five years, ending in November, 1825, thirty of the former class had received relief from the poor fund, and only ten of the latter, making a proportion of more than nine white paupers to one colored, in the same number of persons."

"Jamaica is supposed to contain twenty thousand whites, and double that number of free black and colored persons. The returns of parishes which have sent returns, exhibit the average number of white paupers to be two hundred and ninety-five, of black and colored persons one hundred and forty-eight; the proportion of white paupers to that of the other class, according to the whole population, being as four to one."

"Nevis.—The white population is estimated at about eight hundred, the free colored about eight hundred. The number of white paupers receiving relief is stated to be twenty-five, that of the other class two."

"St. Christopher's.—The average number of white paupers appears to be one hundred and fifteen; that of the other class, fourteen, although there is no doubt that the population of the latter class greatly outnumbered that of the former."

"Tortola.—In 1825 the free black and colored population amounted to six hundred and seven, the whites are estimated at about three hundred. The number of white paupers relieved, appears to be twenty-nine, of the other class four; being in proportion of fourteen to one."

"In short, in a population of free black and colored persons amounting to from eighty thousand to ninety thousand, only two hundred and twenty-nine persons have received any relief whatever as paupers, during the years 1821 to 1825; and these chiefly the concubines and children of destitute whites; while of about sixty-five thousand whites in the same time, sixteen hundred and seventy-five received relief."

"The proportion therefore of enfranchised persons receiving any kind of aid as paupers, in the West Indies, is about one in three hundred and seventy; whereas the proportion among the whites of the West Indies is about one in forty."

"In addition to which, we find that in the island of Trinidad there are upwards of fifteen thousand free people of color, and that there is not a pauper among them. A sugar planter who resided twenty-seven years in Trinidad, and who is the superintendent of the liberated negroes, says he knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not maintaining himself."

"Can any one read these statements, made by the colonists themselves, and still think it necessary to keep the negroes in slavery, lest they should be unable to maintain themselves if free?—Zion's Watchman, Sept. 7."

"Negroes less able to take care of themselves than Chickens."

1st. In a statement published by the guardians of the poor of the city and county of Philadelphia, for 1830, it appears that out of 549 out-door poor relieved during the year, only 22 were persons of color, being but five colored to every hundred white inhab-

itants thus provided for, and that the colored paupers admitted into the almshouse for the same period, did not exceed that proportion, while their ratio of the whole population of the city and suburbs exceeds 8 1-4 per cent.

2d. For want of designating in the tax books the property of the colored people, reference was made to the receipt of the tax payers, to ascertain as accurately as practicable the amount paid. From this source, though deficient, it appears that within the same district, the colored people paid in taxes not less than 2500 dollars, while the sums expended to relieve them, from the public funds, rarely, if ever, exceeded 2000 dollars, a year; thus, not only supporting their own, but contributing to the support of the white poor. The amount of rents which they pay to owners of property, is found to exceed 100,000 dollars annually.

3d. Many of them, by industry, have acquired property, and have become freeholders. Besides their private estates, they have six places for worship owned and used by the Methodist society among them, two by Presbyterians, two by Baptists, and one by Episcopalians; they have also a public hall; the value of which they estimate to exceed 100,000 dollars.

4th. They have two First-day schools, two tract societies, two Bible societies, two temperance societies, and one female literary institution. They have a large number of benevolent associations, some of them are incorporated for mutual aid in sickness and distress. The members are governed by rules which tend to promote industry and morality, and not one of them has been convicted of any crime. Seven thousand dollars are expended annually out of the stock of these associations in relieving distressed members.

5th. Their own prejudices with which they have to contend, they experience much difficulty in procuring places for their sons as apprentices to learn mechanical trades, notwithstanding which, in their remonstrance to the legislature of Pennsylvania, in the first month of 1833, they stated that there are between four and five hundred people of color in the city and suburbs, who follow mechanical employments.

This statistical account proves that although many of this people may be too regardless of their moral standing, there is a large number who do appreciate the importance of education, and have already realized many of its advantages. It proves not only that they are no burthen upon the white population, but that they contribute to the maintenance of others. It shows that they possess a spirit of independence which leads to personal exertion for their own emolument and improvement, and were they free from the obstacles which surround them, it would be fair to conclude, that many more would vie with their white neighbors in the refinements of civilized life.—The Friend.

NEW WORK.—The Anti-Slavery Society have in press, an Appeal to Southern Women, on the subject of slavery, by Miss Angelina Grimke, formerly of Charleston, S. C.

John Quincy Adams's speech in Congress in regard to the affairs of Mexico and Texas, was highly extolled in the Metamoras. It had been translated and published in Spanish, and had gained for him the appellation of the Demosthenes of America.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Essay on Slavery.

BY HEZEKIAH JOHNSON, BAPTIST MINISTER.

NO. II.

Advocates for slavery make many pleas to justify it. They may all be summed up in the following propositions:

First.—The bible sanctions slavery.

If it does, it must do it by some general principle of morality, or by some special statute, which specifies who should be the possessor and who the possessed. General principles of morality apply to all men. Hence, if the bible, by a general principle of morality sanctions slavery, all men have a right to enslave each other, and the most able and skilful man-stealer, has a right to the most slaves. Who that loves the bible, would not be shocked at the thought of its sanctioning such a system of universal robbery? Special statutes point out definitely those to whom they apply. Hence, if the bible, by a special statute, authorized the Jews to hold slaves (which is not granted) such statute is a warrant to no man but a Jew to hold a slave; and not to a Jew to hold as slaves any others than the heathen who lived round about Palestine. Those heathens were not black. The Jews, by a special statute, were required to destroy all the Canaanites—and it is just as logical to infer from this statute, that slaveholders have a right to destroy all the Africans, as it is to infer from other special statutes which authorized the Jews to have servants, that slaveholders have a right to enslave the Africans. Therefore, if the bible, by a special statute, authorized the Jews to hold heathens for slaves there is not a shadow of warrant in the bible for holding the Africans or any other people on earth in a state of slavery.

Second. Power gives right.

Strange indeed! Is there nothing wrong? Was there never any thing wrong? Have all men since the foundation of the world been fools, for having words expressing the same idea that is commonly expressed by the word, wrong? Men can do no act, without power to do it. A man never did do any thing, that he had no power to do: therefore, if power gives right, a man never did do any thing, that he had no right to do. If power gives right, a man has a right to kill all the men in the world, if he has power to kill. If power gives right, among nations, the strong arm of successful violence must everywhere give right. Devastation, pillage and plunder, must quickly overspread the earth. Nations, potent in arms, would sweep across the territories of those that are feeble. The fertile plain would be converted into the gory battle-field. The earth would be converted into a great slaughter-house. The heavens would resound with the shrieks of millions of widows and orphans, mingled with the groans of the wounded and the dying. But I shall not further attempt to describe that which is indescribable. If power gives right, the strongest man is the freest, the weakest man is the slave; and there are as many degrees of slavery, as there are of different degrees of strength among men.

date turning away from sin. Tell not the lively-stable keeper, immediately to shut up his stable on the Sabbath, if by so doing he would impoverish his family. Tell not the child or the wife to cease now to do evil and not to seek salvation, if by so doing the fearful, murderous punishment of a father or husband would most likely be incurred. If you rank slavery as a sin, amongst "the greatest of sins," the same rule of immediate abandonment that applies to all, must apply necessarily to slavery.

(8) We appeal to Mr. Elliot—we appeal to every member of the General Conference—we appeal to every individual in attendance on its debates.—Does the southern part of the Methodist Episcopal Church consider slavery a sin? Did not the southern members palliate the "evil" as much as possible? Did they admit for one moment, that it was any other than a "necessary evil"? Did they not all, in fact, proclaim their other disbelief in its sinfulness, when, to a man, (I believe) they voted for Dr. Capers, a slaveholding minister, as a candidate for the episcopacy? Is it fair, then, for a church, which, according to Mr. Elliot, has ranked slavery amongst the greatest sins, to profess to the world that she is "as much as ever opposed to the great evil of slavery," when nearly one half her members believe, and act on the belief, that slavery is only a necessary evil and not a sin?

(9) How cruel to her own children! Was Mr. Elliot, at the time he wrote this, acquainted with Messrs. Williams, Crowder, and others, slaveholding fellow ministers?

(10) Behold the mighty machinery of Methodism for extirpating slavery! 1st. Members may hold as many slaves as they choose, so they will buy no more, nor sell any of the stock on hand. By legacy or marriage, however, they may get as many as they can. 2nd. Members must teach themselves to read the word of God—that is, when it is prudent. 3rd. All right. 4th. A mere nullity. 5th. Equivalent to nothing. Who now can doubt that any thing less than the destruction, or extirpation, or rooting up of slavery is contemplated by the Methodist Episcopal Church?

(11) Your southern brethren act consistently. Why, then, so puzzled? They are silent, or but slightly recognize the principles of your "excellent Discipline," simply because they do not "hold" to them. Think you they are so many Daniels? When the king issued his commandment, Daniel was so imprudent as to disobey, and that, right openly. He really seemed to believe that there was a Power above, whose command was weightier than that of the proud monarch. Your brethren are more prudent. The decree has gone forth that the negro shall be the slave of the white man. And your brethren bow the knee. The system of oppression is "interwoven with the political institutions," "established by law," far be it from them to set up their conscientious scruples against such weighty authority. They are not Daniels.

(12) Here again they show their inconsistency. If they should admit the principles of your "common Discipline," one of which is that slavery is a "sin," then could they not condemn abolitionists. In condemning the principles of abolitionists, they cannot fail to condemn your principles. Why will you not understand?

(13) True! Mr. Elliot. But how came you to forget all this, when you voted for Mr. Rozzell's "unguarded" resolutions? How came you to forget all this, when you refused to support Mr. Scott's guarding amendment to said resolutions? Did it not strike you, that "the friends of oppression would make a gain of them," "or that the excellent principles of your 'church might seem to be overlooked or left behind'?" Alas, for your "excellent principles"! "The friends of oppression have made a gain" of you. Not a voice from the south but sounds aloud your praise. They who make merchandise of men, clap their hands in the light of your countenance, and scarcely a pro-slavery press but sends forth into the habitations of cruelty and every dark place of the earth, your "unguarded" resolutions.

(14) How, now, my good brother! Will you defend now, what so valiantly you proclaimed, December 10th, 1835, in these two paragraphs? Or have you learned "jurare in verba magistri"? We shall see. The south is a hard master.

Free People of Color.

"The free people of color," were pronounced by Mr. Clay, some years ago, to be "of all descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, as a class, by far the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned."

We apprehend, that Mr. Clay, in the above remark has done great injustice to this class of our fellow-citizens.—Others have followed in the same line—and the error, if it be one, has been so often repeated that it is now received as a truth so well established as to demand no further examination. We think this opinion was by no means so boldly hazarded, till slaveholders began to look on colored persons who were free as producing, by their presence, alone, discontent amongst colored persons who were slaves. It was then that they began to brand them incessantly as nuisances, pests, as dangerous to the peace of society. In all the storm of abuse which was poured on them by high and low—Christian and infidel—to compel them to consent to a removal from the land of their birth to one on the other side of the ocean, where "health" is said to be "good," when it is annoyed by "a little chill and fever about once in a month or six weeks," the sufferers could say nothing. They had no press to speak in their defence, and they were forbidden to appear on the same platforms with Mr. Clay and other orators by whom they were so mercilessly stigmatized.

Let us now attend to some of the facts which are beginning to be ascertained and to be published for the correction of this error. There were by the last census, nearly 5000 free colored persons in Kentucky. The senior editor of this paper has made extensive inquiry as to the state of pauperism among them as indicated by the records of the county courts. He heard of but one, an old woman in Jessamine county—who was on the pauper list and was supported from the public funds.

A very intelligent gentleman, who has resided in Lexington for many years, informed us within the last two years, that he had no recollection of any of the free colored people of that city having been tried or punished for criminal violations or for the more common infractions of their police regulations. This, in the very city, too, within a mile or two of which Mr. Clay resides.

In a "Refutation of the calumnies circulated against the southern and western states respecting the institution and existence of slavery among them,"—written by Edwin Holland, a South Carolinian, we have the following views of the "free mulattoes":—"We are decidedly opposed," says he, "to any system of legislation that would end in banishing them. Most of them are industrious, sober, hard-working mechanics, who have large families and considerable property."

In the Southampton insurrection there was not a single free colored person implicated in the remotest degree—yet were hundreds of them residing in that county compelled by the cruelties and abuse which they suffered from the neighboring whites, to emigrate immediately afterwards to the fens and morasses of Western Africa.

Mr. Gayarre, a member of the Louisiana legislature in 1831—(the same we believe who was since elected by that body a senator in Congress)—uses this language concerning the colored population of Louisiana in a report which he submitted to that body:—

"It has been said, that in the colored population of Louisiana, a few respectable individuals could be found. Justice, perhaps, would have required the confession, that the many were respectable and the few depraved; the many are sober and industrious mechanics, quiet and useful citizens, who are susceptible of noble sentiments and virtues. Those will not disbelieve this assertion, who will recollect the courage with which those men fought and bled in 1815, on behalf of the country which they cannot but love, because it is the land of their nativity. This homage is due to them—and your committee pays it with pleasure." &c.

No class of persons were more favorably spoken of by General Jackson for their alacrity, their bravery and their fearlessness in the memorable defence of New Orleans, than were the free colored.

In Philadelphia, so far from burdening the whites with the support of their paupers, their city taxes over and above the support of their own poor, furnish funds for the support of white paupers. One of the wealthiest mechanics in that city, if not in the nation, is a colored man. A committee of the Pennsylvania legislature appointed, a few years since, to collect the statistics of the colored people, with a view to enactments preventing their ingress into the state, surprised themselves and the legislature with a report of particulars, fully authorizing their unexpected conclusion, to wit,—that the colored population were an industrious and worthy class of inhabitants. All this in spite of the public prejudice and legal disabilities which tend to degrade and depress them.

Who can fail to commend the good sense, the honorable and Christian principles which dictated the following resolutions, passed lately at a meeting of colored people in Philadelphia:—

Resolved, That it is the sincere wish of this society, that as our young people of both sexes have, for the most part, both the opportunity and the power, they should earnestly and strenuously exert themselves in their leisure hours, especially during long winter evenings, in supplying the deficiencies of an early and irregular education; and thereby qualify themselves for extended usefulness in the circles in which they move.

Resolved, That in the prosecution of so laudable an enterprise, all seemingly insuperable difficulties should be disregarded—that competent and judicious instruction on the one part, and unconquerable perseverance and indefatigable industry on the other, will ensure to the student unflinching success and a rich reward.

WEARING MOURNING APPAREL, &c.

Whereas, The time-honored custom of wearing mourning apparel for the dead, being frequently attended with much inconvenience and always with unnecessary expense;—and whereas, the money which the poor of our people are obliged to spend in this way, in conformity with the tyranny of fashion, might be applied to purposes of substantial utility: Therefore be it

Resolved, That from motives of economy alone, if from no other, this practice should be abolished among our people.

Resolved, That all unnecessary eclat and parade on funeral occasions are in bad taste, and should be frowned down by the reflecting portion of our community.

A resolution then follows, requesting the auxiliary societies to present a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the presidents of the different beneficial societies and others, &c. After which we have the following ON SERVANTS, &c.

Whereas, The good or bad conduct of those of our people who are employed either as domestics in private houses, or as porters in public stores, or otherwise, has an important bearing upon our destinies as a people in this country: Therefore

Resolved, That it is the sincere desire of this society, that ministers of the gospel and others who have influence over persons so employed, should frequently, though kindly, exhort them to cultivate in their intercourse with their employers, an obliging disposition, and to discharge the duties assigned them, with scrupulous punctuality, and Christian fidelity.

Resolved, That this society earnestly recommend to teachers of youth, to instill into the minds of their juvenile charges, the love of truth, principles of rigid honesty, habits of sobriety and industry, a sacred regard for the Sabbath day, and the injunctions of Christianity—and thus prepare them to fill up honorably and religiously, the stations they may be called upon to occupy.

Resolved, That while such a course of instruction cannot but result in positive benefits to the rising generation, it will procure for us the favorable consideration of the intelligent and the magnanimous—and what is incomparably more valuable, the favor and protection of Him, who is mighty to save and strong to deliver.

ON PEACE AND TEMPERANCE.

Resolved, That the principles of peace and non-resistance, ought to be practised under all circumstances by every lover of religion and good order.

Resolved, That we recommend to our temperance societies, to adopt the principle of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, as the only safe remedy against drunkenness.

"Good African Health."

"Good African health"—as we are informed by Mr. Wilson, missionary at Cape Palmas [Maryland, in Africa]—*"is a little chill and fever about once in a month or six weeks, but seldom so severe as to confine one to bed as much as a whole day and night."*

Quite comfortable this, for a constancy.

The Inconsistencies of Error.

Mr. Clay, at a recent Colonization meeting in Lexington, Ky., delivered a speech of which an abstract is given in the Lexington Intelligencer. We select from it the following passage, in which the senator, with a felicitous brevity peculiarly his own, has given utterance to several most striking contradictions:—

"I consider slavery as a curse, a curse to the master; a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave. In the abstract, it is ALL wrong; and no possible contingency can make it right. It is condemned by all our notions of natural justice, and our maxims of natural political equality. 'Necessity, a stern political necessity alone, can excuse or justify it; a necessity arising from the fact, that to give freedom to our slaves, that they might remain with us, would, in our opinion, be doing both ourselves and them an injury—lessening our pecuniary profits, shocking our long established feelings toward this degraded caste, hurting our delicacy by endangering amalgamation, and destroying their comfort by subjecting them to the persecution of our inveterate prejudices.'"

Would not Mr. Clay's meaning be better expressed hereby? The fact is, he and those who like himself, are continually conceding the wrong of slavery "in the abstract," and yet vindicating it in practice, by "circumstances," are our most formidable antagonists. On the one hand, they conciliate popular feeling by eloquent declamations about "liberty in the abstract," and on the other, propitiate and excuse a slave-holding community by plying ejaculations about the "tyranny of circumstances," and "stern necessity," and the utter change of ideas in their passage from the "abstract" to the "concrete."

"In the abstract, liberty is always a good and perfect gift, and always necessary to the perfection of human nature." "Amen!" shout the populace. "But liberty to black human nature would be like the opening of Pandora's box—rife with diseases and death." "Just so," exclaim the populace,—"Alas! for our slaveholding brethren, that they must withhold liberty from the black man, to save the black man from harm."

Mr. Clay repudiates the doctrines of the ultra slaveholder. He would shrink from contact with the McDuffie creed. And yet this is the only consistent compact creed which the slaveholder can adopt. The governor is too honest a man to sacrifice at an altar, in whose divinity he disbelieves. He is a slaveholder on principle; Henry Clay is a slaveholder against principle. We repeat again, it is the class of political moralists to which the latter belongs, that are deceiving our people. They are patriots—they are philanthropists, but so are they, philosophers! Their republicanism is profound, but so is their prudence. We praise them because they extol liberty; we excuse them because they must practice slavery. We admire them because they hate slavery; we pity them because they must do what they hate!

O, that the people of the south would be honest, both to us and themselves!

sity alone can excuse or justify it; a necessity arising from the fact, that to give freedom to our slaves that they might remain with us, would be doing them an injury rather than a benefit," &c.

Let us examine this position. To liberate your slaves, permitting them to abide with you, "would to them an injury rather than a benefit." What, then, is your duty? Have you any right to inflict an injury on a fellow-creature? Is it not your obvious, your positive duty, to do him a benefit, and not an injury? To retain your slaves, then, in bondage, is clearly your duty, allowing the truth of your present position. If it be your duty, doubtless it is your right. If it be your right to retain your slaves, as slaves, their correlative duty is, to submit as slaves, to acquiesce in their enthrallment. Clearly they have no right to liberty, because you have a right to withhold it from them. But, your first position was, that slavery is a wrong, which necessarily implies, that the slaves have a right to liberty.—The contradiction is palpable. You at first conceded a principle, which, by fair implication, involved a result so repugnant to your policy and practice, that, to avoid it, you assumed another principle, which in its legitimate consequences, is a direct contradictory to the principle in your concession.

Mr. Clay further says, "In the abstract," it (slavery) is ALL wrong; and no possible contingency can make it right. The essential nature of slavery consists, in holding human beings by the tenure of property. Slavery "in the abstract," we understand to mean, the theory or idea of this tenure. The tenure in the abstract, according to Mr. Clay, is "ALL wrong," and, if "no possible contingency can make it right," always wrong. But, though always wrong in theory, in idea, one contingency at least, according to the same authority, can justify or make it right in fact, in practice.

In relation to this we would observe, that theory should harmonize—not be at variance with fact. It is not good philosophy to deny a possibility in theory, when this same possibility is established by facts. Systems and actions should be conceived of as they exist under varied circumstances. Circumstances must qualify our abstract notions. If Mr. Clay were asked, whether homicide in the abstract were wrong, whether no possible contingency could make it right, he would doubtless answer in the negative. He might cite several circumstances, which in his opinion would justify homicide in practice, and for this reason, he would deny that it was always wrong in theory "in the abstract." The principle involved in this denial is, that any action, which at one time may be wrong, and at another, right, in fact, cannot be said to be always wrong in the abstract, or in idea. On this ground, Mr. Clay again appears to contradict himself in his remarks on slavery. If there be circumstances which justify this system in practice, these circumstances must qualify the decision of the judgment in respect to its moral qualities "in the abstract." To say that slavery in fact is justified by a contingency, and that, "in the abstract," no possible contingency can justify or make it right, is to say contradictories. This, Mr. Clay has done.

Again: "To give freedom to our slaves that they might remain with us, would be doing them an injury, rather than a benefit—would render their condition worse than it is at present." If this be Mr. Clay's sincere opinion, and we presume not to question it, we may ask, would it not be injustice in you to liberate your slaves? Does it not comport with all your "notions of natural justice" to retain them in a state, than which the condition of liberty with you would be "worse"? How then can you assert, that slavery "is condemned by all" your "notions of natural justice"? Is it "natural justice" to inflict an injury on a fellow-creature? Is it "natural justice" to make his "condition worse than it is at present"? If to liberate your slaves, keeping them with you, would injure rather than benefit them, you contradict yourself when you assert, that to hold him in bondage "is condemned by all" your "notions of natural justice."

"Necessity—a stern political necessity alone can excuse or justify it." Slaveholders are great perverters of language. They have been too long indulged in a loose use of words, to accommodate their peculiar circumstances. What is Mr. Clay's "stern, political necessity"? No necessity at all. The word is perverted from its true meaning; for, as defined by himself, it evidently can mean nothing more than expediency. We are sick of sophistry. Men's minds are beguiled by the misuse of words. The simplicity of truth is abandoned under cover of the deceptiousness of language. Let us translate the passage into its appropriate words.

"I consider slavery, on the whole, as a curse to the master, a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave; unless where freedom would be a greater wrong. In the general, it is a wrong system, and no contingency, but just such as exists in the south, can make it right. As it prevails in most instances in other parts of the world, or as described by the historians of the past, it is condemned by all our notions of natural justice, and our maxims of natural political equality. Expediency, a true political expediency can alone excuse or justify it; an expediency arising from the fact, that to give freedom to our slaves that they might remain with us, would, in our opinion, be doing both ourselves and them an injury—lessening our pecuniary profits, shocking our long established feelings toward this degraded caste, hurting our delicacy by endangering amalgamation, and destroying their comfort by subjecting them to the persecution of our inveterate prejudices."

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"We are all the while assuming, it will be perceived, that Mr. Clay's sentiments with regard to homicide, concur with the established opinion of the profession."

Kidnaping.

"The cases of kidnaping, in one form or another, are multiplying on every side to such an extent, that it is next to impossible to keep a record of them. Nor is southern men alone, who are engaged in this atrocious and abominable business."

On Monday, a friend called on us and stated the following fact:—

A Capt. W.—has just returned to this city from the South. When he sailed from the city, he shipped on board his vessel, as one of the crew, a colored boy by the name of Anthony Freeman. One or two of the hands are now ready to testify that while at the South, he destroyed the boy's free papers, and sold him as a slave.—Emancipator.

The same paper mentions two other cases, one of which is from the New York Transcript. And yet, we have no concern with slavery. Our own vaunted and vaunting free men, becoming so mean and wicked as to join hands with the stealers of man! Our own free citizens, living under the protection of our constitution, liable to fall victims, every moment, to the rapacious spirit of slavery. The majesty of our laws defied, and our soil polluted by the presence of these inhuman purveyors to the slaveholder of the South! And yet, we, so polluted, so wronged, so defiled, have nothing to do with slavery in the South! When will our self-styled patriots and lovers of union cease their silly clamor against abolitionists, and show themselves fit to sustain the free institutions, bequeathed them by their fathers?"

Slavery the Great Good.

It would seem as if slavery were the great good, both with politicians and christians in the south. The Zion's Watchman, gives an extract from a printed circular, dated Richmond, Va. July 30th, 1836, and signed Win. A. Smith, which is quite illustrative of this point.

The writer complains of the Methodist General Conference, because though it voted promptly against the wild schemes of abolitionists, yet in the election of Bishops, it refused to sustain candidates of confessedly superior qualifications, on account of their being slaveholders. He calls this a proscription system, and asks; will the south submit to it? "They will not—they cannot"—is his answer. He affirms, that the general union of the northern and southern church cannot be perpetuated at the price of proscription; that the General Conference must recede from this position, or "the will on all suitable occasions seek to establish a Southern General Conference; that he has but little hope they will recede; that should they not at the session of 1840, the establishment of a southern General Conference, will be the only alternative, and finally, that this result is generally calculated on by most of those with whom he has conversed. So we begin now to see, what the Rev. Mr. Winans meant, when he declared there should be class leaders, exhorters, preachers—nay, Bishops, who were slaveholders. And other things we see.

We see that the genius of slavery is insatiate. Complacence but stimulates its appetite; indulgence awakens new demands.

We see that the General Conference gained nothing by offering up abolition and abolitionism, to propitiate the South.

We see that their worldly wisdom has served only to postpone, not remove the danger they apprehended.

We see that southern Methodists will not rest until they have glorified slavery, with the pomp and circumstance of Episcopacy.

Lastly—we see or think we see, in this movement of the church, a type of what will happen in a state

"Slavery in America."

Is the title of a new monthly publication in London, conducted by Rev. Thomas Price. From the Liberator we learn, that its primary object is to give the British public a faithful delineation of slavery as it exists in this country. "Intermeddlers with southern institutions" are multiplying. It seems that British christians are beginning to inquire what they can do "to rescue christianity from reproach, and to save their 'American brethren from the natural consequences of their guilt in upholding this horrid system of impiety and wrong." I suppose the next thing we shall hear of, will be a reward offered for Mr. Price, or any other transatlantic philanthropist, who may choose to discuss the subject of American slavery.

The following, as quoted from the Liberator, is the concluding paragraph of a brief notice taken by Mr. Price, of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States.

"These brief notices of the origin and progress of the abolition cause in America demonstrate its purely benevolent and religious character, and the peaceful means by which it expects to accomplish its purpose. It is neither sectarian or political in its spirit or designs. It aims at the overthrow of the most intolerable and iniquitous system of Slavery which exists in the world.

The men who conduct it are wise in counsel, and decisive in action; and notwithstanding the fierce and brutal spirit with which they have been continually assailed it is clear that, from the success which has hitherto attended their labors, the doom of Slavery is sealed."

The following extracts are taken from the Cincinnati Journal and Luminary.

Progress of Truth.

Miss. August 26, 1836.

Messrs. Chester and Barnes: I have received the Journal and Luminary for several months past and have been much pleased with its contents, but I do deem it unsafe to have it sent to this office any longer. I therefore request you to send it to my father—please direct to—Esq., Athens, Ohio."

"Again.—We extract from a letter received by same mail directed—Ky. Sept. 7, 1836. Your big men of the north have made themselves perfectly ridiculous in the eyes of the South, except with such characters as negro traders and some perhaps a grade above them. After speaking of the Cincinnati mob and mobocrats he says, 'the days of their greatness are surely numbered. Before five years these same men will wonder at the strength of the Abolitionists; I wish they would be admonished by the old Roman Poet 'nimium ne crede color.'"

"Brother B. would it injure your paper, if you would come out just a little stronger?"

We give the foregoing extracts and could give others of similar import from our letters, showing the state of feeling in different parts of the country. In some parts of Mississippi, it would seem, that no paper can be tolerated that does not go with might and main against abolitionists and in favor of slavery. With them silence is a crime. Yet we do not apprehend that the general feeling and sentiment of the people of that state is such as seems, from the extract given, to exist in a particular place. We should, indeed, deeply regret it, if we could believe, that any considerable portion of a state, professing to be republican, was enlisted in so mad a crusade against the principles of rational freedom, and so recklessly bent on breaking down every thing like a government of laws. Unsafe to have a religious newspaper sent to a Post Office! Where? In the dominions of the Great Mogul? To an office under the power of the grand Sultan? or where the Autocrat of all the Russias sways his iron sceptre, or where the successor of Charlemagne holds an unwilling people in doubtful subjection? In none of these; but in America—republican America—the land of Franklin and Washington—in a land redeemed from vassalage to a limited monarchy by the blood of many patriots, and boasting itself to be the Asylum of the oppressed of all nations. If any of those whom we are accustomed to regard as fellow citizens, live under a pretty neighborhood tyranny so fearful as this short extract would indicate, from our hearts we pity them. We have no occasion to send our sympathies across the ocean, or to search for men of a different color from ourselves as objects of compassion. Here within our borders is a slavery, to a generous mind as bitter, and a despotism as unrelenting as victim ever felt or tyrant ever rioted in. Let those who, feel and those who exercise it, look to it, for if tolerated in relation to a newspaper now, it must be borne when the temper of the times shall give it another direction, and those who now wontonly exercise it, at some other day, will be its victims, and groan beneath a despotism which passion has brought into being.

In relation to the second extract we would inform our correspondent that our men, lately so big, are sufficiently aware that they have rendered themselves ridiculous not only abroad but at home. Men may produce an excitement in a small minority of the people and imagine that the whole community participate with them. Borne on by passion they hear not and heed not the calm voice of reason which prevails with the majority. Hence those who at any time engage in mobs and unlawful violence, when compelled at length to hear and feel the sober judgement of the com-

munity, find themselves condemned and despised where they expected approbation and applause. Such is the fact in Cincinnati, and it is only matter of surprise that some of our mob men did not reflect before engaging in such a business, that all mobs and the actors in them, have been invariably condemned by the popular voice, so soon as the excitement, as in all cases it soon must, has passed away.

Breckenridge and Thompson.

It seems that the famous Mr. Breckenridge has descended to meet in argument, the "infamous" Thompson, and discuss with him American slavery. The discussion was carried on in Dr. Warilla's chapel, Glasgow, Scotland, on the evenings of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June last.

The report is too long for publication in our paper; and we the less regret this, as Mr. Knapp has already we presume, issued it in Boston, in a separate form, with an appendix. "The work," was to "contain about two hundred large octavo pages, and be published the 10th September."

The New York Express is exulting in what it considers the discomfiture of Thompson. By the following, it would appear, that the editor of the Emancipator has since given Mr. Brooks a fair chance to prove his sincerity."

"And now, as the Express will have it that Mr. B. won the victory, we have a proposition to make. It is this—that we will bear half the expense of printing an edition of the discussion in pamphlet form, for general and gratuitous distribution, if the Express will bear the other—the edition to be of any size the Express please, and to be printed without note or comment, except such as may be mutually agreed upon. And now surely the Express will not demur; for if Mr. B. won the victory before an audience committed against him at the outset, most clearly he cannot but win it before a public already prejudiced in his favor."

A committee of colored persons have recently made application to the recorder in New York, requesting him to notify them, when any colored person was claimed as a slave, in order that they might give him legal assistance. The application was respectfully made, and the recorder promised to comply with their request.

In D. Green's Reg. vol. 2. 791, it is said that "Virginia is in fact a negro-raising state for other states," and that the 6,000 slaves which she annually sends to the south are a source of wealth to her.

When we think of this we can't help admiring the honest indignation of John Randolph. Virginia certainly will take a rebuke from him.

"Avarice alone," says he, "could have produced the slave-trade. Avarice alone can drive, as it does drive, this infernal traffic, and the wretched victims of it, like so many post-horses whipped to death in a mail coach. Ambition has its cover-sluts, in the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war; but where are the trophies of avarice! The handcuffs, the manacle, and the blood-stained cowhide! What man is worse received in society for being a hard master? Who denies the hand of a sister or daughter to such monsters!—nay, they have even appeared in 'the abused shape of the vilest of women.'"

"We do not know whether the following has yet been published in our paper. It is somewhat different from Mr. Calhoun's famous bill.

Post Office Law.

SECTION 32. And be it further enacted, That if any postmaster shall unlawfully detain in his office, any letter, package, pamphlet, or newspaper, with intent to prevent the arrival and delivery of the same to the person or persons to whom such letter, package, pamphlet or newspaper may be addressed or directed in the usual course of the transportation of the mail along the route; or if any postmaster shall, with intent aforesaid, give a preference to any letter, package, pamphlet or newspaper, over another, which shall pass through his office, by forwarding the one and retaining the other, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, and shall, moreover, be forever thereafter incapable of holding the office of postmaster in the United States.

Anti-Slavery Lectures.

The senior editor of this paper lectured at Lebanon, in Warren county, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 11th and 12th of this month—and at Springboro' in the same county, on the forenoon and evening of Tuesday the 13th. The friends of the cause in Lebanon, believing that application for the use of any of the churches would be unavailing, made none. The Town Hall was secured for the first lecture, which was well attended and respectfully listened to, with the exception of a little disorder created by one or two individuals. In Springboro' the use of one of the Friends' meeting houses was obtained, and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather the evening lecture was well attended.

Pledges.

We have no doubt, that both societies and individuals have been withholding their monies until they should be informed of the extent and nature of the consequences of the mob-violence to the Executive Committee. They must, by this time, however, be aware, that no change has been effected in the plans or purposes of the committee; and they must further be aware that, for the full accomplishment of these plans, the prompt redemption of all pledges is at this juncture indispensably necessary. The simple statement of this fact will, doubtless be sufficient, not only to secure the prompt payment of what is due, but also additional donations.

Advice to Correspondents.

Let your communications be brief: they will have the greater chance of being well read and circulated.

Let your writing be perfectly legible. Editors have eyes that may suffer, a patience that may be exhausted, and time that may be wasted, on account of your carelessness.

If you have a treasury of things new and old, bring them forth: if they be all old, keep them. Choice selections are better than trite communications.

Nevertheless, if you have mind, wake it up; if you have a heart, kindle it. Then let us have your selectest thoughts, and there may be those, who will rise up to bless you.

To Correspondents.

Many communications were received just before the destruction of our press. Some are now out of date, and will therefore be laid aside, others shall appear as we have room for them.

To our subscribers.

Owing to the circumstances under which the paper is now managed, our news department cannot be very fresh. These circumstances, however, we trust are but temporary; and our expectation is, that in a very little while, our news will be as really new to our subscribers, as they can desire.

A Narrative

Of the late riotous proceedings against the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS in Cincinnati; with Remarks and Historical Notices concerning Emancipation; just published, and for sale, by the Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, being a neat pamphlet of 48 pages. Price.—One dollar per dozen; single copies 12½ cents.

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IMPORTANT DECISION.

From the New York Evangelist.
The Boston Slave Case.

The interesting slave case which we mentioned last week as before Judge Wilde, in Boston, has had another hearing, and after being fully argued, has been decided by the whole Supreme Court, and we rejoice to see, has been decided fully in favor of human rights. The Boston papers differ a little in their reports of the case. We have prepared the following chiefly from the Boston Daily Advertiser, condensing it, and also correcting by the statements of the Boston Mercantile and Boston Post.

COMMONWEALTH VS. THOMAS AVES.

This was a writ of Habeas Corpus issued against the defendant, as detaining in unlawful custody a female colored child. The defendant made affidavit, in return, that the child was the property of his son-in-law, Mr. Slater, of Louisiana, and had accompanied Mrs. S. on a visit to Boston, and was to be taken back to Louisiana. The question presented to the court was whether the relation of slavery could exist in Massachusetts to any extent, between the citizen of a slaveholding state and a slave whom he had voluntarily brought within the limits of the state. The question was argued very ably and elaborately by Messrs. Benjamin R. Curtis and Chas. P. Curtis, for the defendant, and Messrs. Ellis G. Loring and Rufus Choate for the petitioner.

For the defendant, it was contended that the slave being brought here merely for a temporary purpose, the master had a right to retain so much of the custody of her as would enable him to carry her back to his own state. The child was a slave by the laws of Louisiana, and upon the broad ground of national comity, we are bound to recognize the laws of that state and to give force to them within our own limits. The constitution had recognized slavery, and we, therefore, could not say that it was immoral in such a sense as to bring it within the list of exceptions to the general rule of national comity. Our own policy is to be consulted and not that of any foreign state. Moveable property always follows the person of the owner. These and analogous positions were illustrated at great length, and enforced by the citation of numerous adjudged cases.

For the petitioner it was contended, that slavery was unknown in Massachusetts. That it had been actually and expressly abolished by the declaration of rights and virtually so, long before, even before the case of Somerset, in England, in 1771. That it was for the state to decide how far it would recognize the laws of Louisiana. That comity was not to be exercised in doubtful cases. That the provision of the constitution of the United States was the result of a compromise—it was a bargain—and the non-slaveholding states were not bound to go beyond the strict terms of the bargain. That slavery must be deemed an immorality so far as Massachusetts is concerned. Our policy is against slavery. England allows slavery in her colonies, but never upon her own soil. A great number of cases were decided in defence of these positions. The whole of Friday the 26th instant, was consumed in the arguments of the case.

On Saturday the opinion of the whole court was given at some length by SHAW, C. J., intimating at the same time, that a more elaborate opinion would be given hereafter. The Chief Justice remarked, that it was a question of extraordinary importance and interest, and had been fully and most ably argued by the counsel. He then proceeded to state, that it had long been the impression of lawyers and judges in this commonwealth, that the relation of master and slave could not exist in it, even for a moment or for a temporary purpose, and, upon consideration, it was believed that this doctrine was correct, and that a slave coming here by the consent of the master is thereby virtually emancipated, because there is no law by which he can be compelled to leave this state, and while here, as he owes allegiance, he must receive protection. The question was not before the court and need not here be settled, whether a slave coming here by his master's consent, and afterwards returning to a slave country, would fall back into slavery. It having been argued for the petitioner, that slavery was contrary to the law of nations, his honor said, it is too late to put in that plea—as the principle of slavery is engrafted into the laws of nearly all modern nations, to a greater or less degree, and those laws are recognized in general treaties and compacts—but, on the other hand, slavery does not exist in consequence of any general law of nations—it is merely a domestic institution in the nations which tolerate it, and as such, the law of nations is silent upon it. In whatever nation it may exist, it only exists by the authority of the sovereign power of that nation, and the law of nations presumes that every sovereign power can judge what is the best form of government for its own subjects; but the authority over the liberty of the slave is only local, and does not extend beyond the limits of the state or nation, except by a special treaty with any other state. Slavery is against justice and natural right, but other states and countries have a legal right to fix the condition of their own subjects, and must reconcile their acts with their own consciences, in their own way. This principle, however, does not affect contracts for the price of slaves, or slave labor, entered into in a state where slavery is authorized by its laws. A contract for such property may not be set aside in the courts of non-slaveholding states or nations, on the ground that the consideration of such contract is illegal, because the consideration is legal where it is entered into. The courts cannot go beyond the existence of the law, and cannot inquire into its justice and expediency in the slave states, but there is a difference between property in slaves and other property. The general presumption with regard to goods and chattels is, that they are property; but with regard to slaves, the general presumption is, that they are not property.

In reference to the argument often advanced, that the clause in the constitution, providing for the delivering up of runaway or fugitive slaves, was not binding on our courts, because slavery is immoral and against the law of God, his honor held, as before, that the respective states were sovereign with respect to the form of their domestic institutions, and of course, were the only judges of what was best for their respective communities, and therefore it was not for foreign courts to decide upon the morality of their internal regulations. The constitution was to be regarded in three points of view—as the organization of a form of government; as a compromise between sovereign states having distinct and different systems of internal policy; and as a treaty. The clause respecting fugitive slaves may be considered in the nature of a treaty, because if the union had not been entered into, it is manifest that it would have been necessary, to prevent greater evils, that treaties for the delivery of such slaves should exist between communities whose territories adjoined each other, whereby opportunities of escape were continually presented. His honor put the case of two adjoining nations of different national character—the one a military nation, and the other an agricultural or commercial nation. In the warlike nation, there may be supposed to exist a law of conscription, compelling every man arrived at a certain age to enter the army. To escape from military service the conscript may be supposed to abscond into the adjoining nation, where no such law is in force. It is obvious that this state of things would be regarded by the warlike nation with great dissatisfaction, and continual disputes and hostilities would result, unless a treaty were formed to restore conscripts, and such a treaty would of course be formed, because continual wars would do a greater evil to both communities, than the existence of the conscript laws in one—but such a treaty, being contrary to the general principles of the laws of the agricultural nation, must be construed strictly. This was the case with the constitution—the provision respecting fugitives, being contrary to the gen-

eral principles of our laws universally established before the adoption of the constitution—it must be construed strictly, and is not to be extended by construction to meet the comity of nations. It must receive that strict construction, because it is contrary to our laws, and to natural right. Its application to our laws, and to cases of slaves who escape, is not to be confined to cases of slaves who are voluntarily brought to this state, but it is to be extended to all cases of slaves who are brought to this state, and who do not now mean to deny the right of a master to pass through a free state with a slave, in order to go from one slaveholding state to another. The opinion of the court was, that the owner of a slave in a slaveholding state, bringing him here, voluntarily, could not be allowed to retain him here or carry him away with him. That no person has a right to hold a child of tender years for the purpose of carrying it out of the state and reducing it to a state of slavery.

The Chief Justice also cited an opinion delivered by Judge Washington, himself a slaveholder, who held that where a master voluntarily carried his slave into a non-slaveholding state, the slave became free. So far is the doctrine from being an interference with the institution of slavery in the states in which it exists, that it is on the contrary, an interference with our institutions on the part of the master for him to attempt to hold a slave in a non-slaveholding state.

It was, therefore, the opinion of the whole court, that the child having been brought into this state voluntarily by her owner, immediately became free by the necessary operation of the long established and universally admired law of Massachusetts. His honor also directed the clerk to make an order for her discharge from the custody of Mr. Aves, and directed her to be placed in the custody of Ellis G. Loring, her counsel, for a temporary period, and in the mean time the court would consider upon the subject of appointing a legal and permanent guardian, till she attains majority.

OPINIONS OF THE N. Y. PRESS.

The editor of the N. Y. American, says:—
"This is honest doctrine, and timely proclaimed. Slavery, be it known and felt, is the exception, and liberty the rule in the free states. If a slave run away—or, in the language of the constitution, 'shall escape into a free state,' he must in conformity with the constitution be delivered up, upon being fully and satisfactorily identified. But if he be voluntarily brought within the limits of these states, the manacles fall from his limbs, and he stands forth at once regenerate, disenthralled, and free."

The N. Y. Express has no pleasure in this noble vindication of the principles of liberty. He is wholly commercial, and says:—

"It would seem that some provision is necessary in this state, unless we would prohibit citizens of the slaveholding states from traveling in this state with their families, and unless we would permit such of them as wish to emancipate their slaves, to throw them, at their pleasure, upon the people of this state. Both these evils require to be guarded against, and the remedy lies not with the court, but with the legislature."

A correspondent of the N. H. Herald of Freedom says:—
"The child herself was in court, and having sat still a very long time, was allowed to get up, and actually played in the court room as innocently, as unconsciously and as happily, as if she had no part nor lot in the matter. Mr. J. represents her as remarkably bright and interesting, and says if she can be released, he should be glad to have her educated, well educated here in the city. It was a most affecting scene. Her mistress, Mrs. Slater, the daughter of Mr. Aves, and Mr. A. himself, with two able lawyers, were contending for the right to perpetuate the bonds of the unconscious child, and carry her again to the region of slavery; while on the other hand, Messrs. Loring and Sewall, and a few abolitionists, friends indeed to the little girl, were pleading in her behalf for the right with which she is endowed by her Creator. Mr. Curtis pleaded hard for the mother of the child, and even wiped his eyes, as if there were tears there, when he spoke of her feelings in case her child should be detained here. The friend of slavery could not endure the idea of the separation of parent and child! Mr. J. says the trial has been conducted with fairness and candor, and with very little manifestation of excited feeling."

TEXAS INSURRECTION.

Origin and Cause of the Texas Revolution.

No. VIII.

The evidence thus exhibited of a disposition in the people and government of this country to obtain the territory in question, even contrary to the expressed wishes of the Mexicans, induced their statesmen to take a very serious view of the subject. The following is an extract from a paper laid before the Mexican Congress in the year 1829, by the Secretary of State. A strong appeal was made to the nation, to sustain the government in resisting what was alleged to be a premeditated and determined encroachment upon their territorial sovereignty. I shall copy, however, but a small portion of his remarks.

"The North Americans commence by introducing themselves into the territory which they covet on pretence of commercial negotiations or of the establishment of colonies, with or without the assent of the government to which it belongs. These colonies grow, multiply, become the predominant part in the population; and as soon as a support is found in this manner, they begin to set up rights which it is impossible to sustain in a serious discussion, and to bring forward ridiculous pretensions, founded upon historical facts which are admitted by nobody, such as Lasalle's Voyages, now known to be a falsehood, but which serves as a support, at this time, for their claim to Texas. These extravagant opinions are, for the first time, presented to the world by unknown writers; and the labor which is employed by others in offering proofs and reasonings, is spent by them in repetitions and multiplied allegations, for the purpose of drawing the attention of their fellow-citizens, not upon the justice of the proposition, but upon the advantages and interests to be obtained or subverted by their admission.

"Their machinations in the country they wish to acquire, are then brought to light by the appearance of explorers, some of whom settle on the soil, alleging that their presence does not affect the question of the right of sovereignty or possession of the land. These pioneers excite, by degrees, movements which disturb the political state of the country in dispute; and then follow discontents and dissatisfaction calculated to fatigue the patience of the legitimate owner, and to diminish the usefulness of the administration and of the exercise of authority. When things have come to this pass, which is precisely the present state of things in Texas, the diplomatic management commences. The inquietude they have excited in the territory in dispute, the interests of the colonists therein established, the insurrection of adventurers and savages instigated by them, and the pertinacity with which the opinion is set up as to their right of possession, become the subjects of notes full of expressions of justice and moderation, until, with the aid of other incidents which are never wanting in the course of diplomatic relations, the desired end is attained of concluding an arrangement, onerous for one party as it is advantageous to the other.

"It has been said further, that when the United States of the North have succeeded in giving the predominance to the colonists introduced into the countries they had in view, they set up rights, and bring forward pretensions founded upon disputed historical facts, availing themselves generally, for the purpose, of some critical conjuncture to which they suppose that the attention of government must be directed. This policy, which has produced good results to them, they have commenced car-

rying into effect with Texas. The public prints in those states, including those which are more immediately under the influence of their government, are engaged in discussing the right they imagine they have to the country as far as the Rio Bravo. Handbills are printed on the same subject, and thrown into general circulation, whose object is to persuade and convince the people of the utility and expediency of the meditated project. Some of them have said that Providence had marked out the Rio Bravo as the natural boundary of those states, which has induced an English writer to reproach them with an attempt to make Providence the author of their usurpations; but what is most remarkable, is, that they have commenced that discussion precisely at the same time they saw us engaged in repelling the Spanish invasion, believing that our attention would for a long time, be thereby withdrawn from other things."

Whether the charges here made were correct, or not, I leave to the decision of the intelligent reader and the impartial historian. Such, however, were the impressions that were made upon the minds of well informed Mexicans, and such the manner in which they expressed their sentiments. Some of the writers for their public presses were very pointed and severe. One of them, in speaking of the efforts of our diplomatic agent, to alienate the territory from the Mexican Republic, speaks thus:—"That when he found his offer objectionable, he further insulted the nation by proposing a loan of ten millions, as a pawn-broker would, upon the pawning of Texas until repaid, which insidious proposal was meant to fill the country of Texas with Anglo-Americans and slaves, and to hold it afterwards in any event: that citizens of the United States encourage the excursions of the Comanches, and other predatory tribes, against the Mexican frontier settlements, furnishing them with arms, and buying their stolen mules, and even Mexican freemen, such as mulattoes, and Indians, to be held as slaves in Louisiana, &c.: that they have suggested to the Texas colonists at various times to rebel, and declare the country independent of Mexico, or even ask an union with the United States of the North, who will allow the base of slavery."

The excitement produced among the Mexicans, by the efforts above alluded to, was very great; and upon the strength of these impressions, the general Congress passed the law of April 6th, 1830, prohibiting the further migration of Anglo-Americans into Texas. The jealousy of the British government was also aroused, and the subject was noticed in the lower House of Parliament. A debate occurred, in which the celebrated Mr. Huskisson took a leading part, that manifested the liveliest interest in the independence of the Mexican Republic, and the integrity of its territory. It would require too much space at present to insert the speeches, made during this discussion; but a brief synopsis, or hasty review of it, is here given from the London Times:—"Mr. Huskisson, in presenting the Liverpool petition on the subject of their relations with Spain and Mexico, in the course of last night, urged with great force the propriety of preventing Spain from making further attacks from the side of Cuba, on the now liberated Republic of Mexico."

"There was a further subject, and one of extreme importance, discussed by Mr. Huskisson, in the course of his speech—we mean the general prevalence of an opinion that the United States covet a fine province of Mexico, called Texas, and are disposed to have recourse to violence, if necessary, for the purpose of getting it into their hands. The province of Texas extends southwards from the United States along the coast of Mexico, and as such, the seizure of it by the former power could not be a matter of perfect indifference to Great Britain. The possession of the Floridas by the United States has long since given rational cause of uneasiness to England, from regard to the safety of our West India Islands; and we agree with Mr. Huskisson, that when the government of Washington intimated its repugnance to seeing Cuba transferred from the feeble Ferdinand to the vigorous grasp of George IV., the United States should have been informed, that if Cuba were to continue permanently Spanish, so Texas, and in general the whole shore along the Gulf, should ensure to the Mexican Republic."

"The references made by the Right Hon. Gentleman to communications, official as well as private, from the late Mr. Jefferson, descriptive of the eager and deep rooted longings of the American statesmen for slices of Mexico, and above all things for the island of Cuba, will not, we are sure, be lost upon the memory of his Majesty's Government in its future transactions with the Spanish Cabinet, with that of Mexico, and of the United States. With Spain we have a defensive alliance, ready made and consolidated by the most obvious interest, to prevent Cuba from falling a prey to the systematic aggrandizement of the United States. With Mexico, we are equally identified in resistance to the attempts of the same States upon Texas."

It must be observed that the principal advocates of measures for the acquisition of Texas, in the United States, previous to this period, were the southern slaveholders—and their influence was now paramount in the Cabinet. But finding that the territory could not be obtained by negotiation and purchase, and well knowing that no legal claim to it could possibly be sustained, the government declined pressing the matter further, at the time. The writers for the newspaper press, too, now ceased to urge it upon the public attention. Yet the scheme was by no means abandoned. A different mode of operations was planned and adopted, for the ultimate and certain accomplishment of their object. It was known that nearly all the colonists in Texas were originally from our slaveholding states, and either slaveholders themselves, or friendly to the re-establishment and perpetuation of the system of slavery there. The plan therefore pursued was, to misrepresent the Mexican laws and colonial regulations, relative to slavery, and induce the emigration of persons favorable to their views, until their numerical and physical strength should enable them to take advantage of some critical conjuncture, and subject the country, at least, to their legislative control. Should they succeed in this, they believed that they would, finally, be able to carry their whole design into effect—which could be done either by the future attachment of the territory to the northern union, or to a new confederacy that might eventually be organized, still more favorable to the principle and practice of slaveholding. As I have said before, in one of my numbers, the private correspondence kept up for this purpose was very extensive, and the emigration from our southern states to the Texas country continued to increase. Slaves were taken in without hesitation, and men of wealth, enterprise, and influence throughout the southern and south western states, lent their countenance and aid to the scheme.

But to make the reader more familiar with their proceedings, I will now present a succinct though comprehensive view of the combined operations of those concerned in this splendid project in various parts of America.

The Republic of Mexico, from the period of its organization, evinced the utmost liberality towards foreigners in granting permission to colonize its vacant lands, until that liberality, and the confidence reposed in their friendly disposition, were grossly abused, particularly by those who proceeded from our own country. Of the immense tracts of land designated for colonization, in the various contracts entered into with the different "Empresarios," those granted to Zavala, Velasco, and Burnet, were united and transferred to a company in New York, called the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Com-

pany." This association was fully organized on the 16th of October, 1830. The following named persons were appointed as directors, viz: Lynde Catin, Wm. G. Buckner, George Griswold, Barney Corse, John Hagerty, Dudley Seldon and Stephen Whitney. The following were also chosen as trustees, viz: Anthony Dey, George Curtis, Wm. H. Sumner. It is believed however, that some of these subsequently declined acting: others filled their vacancies. The contract entered into by the government with Zavala, was concluded on the 12th of March, 1829; with Velasco, 21st December, 1826, and a second on the 11th October, 1828; with Burnet 29d December, 1826. The grants to Dominguez, and Wilson, and Exter, were in like manner conveyed to Elisha Tibbets, John S. Crary, Henry Hone and their associates, under the title of the "Arkansas and Texas Land Company," by whom Thomas Ludlow Ogden, Daniel Jackson and Edward Curtis, were appointed trustees to hold the same, &c. Another company was organized at Nashville, Tennessee, and the grants made to Ross and Leftwich were transferred to it, upon the same principle. A third company was likewise formed in New York, at a subsequent date, entitled the "Rio Grande Company," (I believe,) which agreed to colonize the tracts obtained by Grant and Beales, and Soto and Egerton, as well as others. These several companies created "stocks" upon the basis of those "grants" and threw them into the market. They also issued "scrip," authorizing the holders of it to take possession of certain tracts of land, within the lines marked out on the map as the boundaries of their respective grants. This "scrip" embraced tracts of various dimensions, and was sold to any one who could be induced to purchase, at such prices as could be obtained. To a bona fide settler, (and none else could obtain the land it pretended to convey,) it could be of no advantage whatever, as the facilities and expense of procuring his tract, according to law, would be the same, whether he held the scrip or not. Every cent paid for it, therefore, was so much loss to the settler, and gain to the company. Although these companies could hold only their grants through the medium of the Empresarios, for the limited period of six years, and on the express condition of settling a specified number of families, they dealt largely in their "stock," and sold immense quantities of "scrip," inasmuch that an immense amount of money has, no doubt, been realized by them—while very few settlers (in many of the grants, none) have been introduced. By obtaining from the government an extension of the time stipulated for the fulfilment of contracts made with the Empresarios, they have been enabled to continue and increase their operations upon a grand scale. Thousands in various parts of the United States have purchased the scrip issued by them, and are interested, of course, in the adoption of measures to legalize their claims. This can never be done, however, while the laws are in force, under which the colonization privileges were obtained. When these companies were first organized, some honorable men engaged in their speculations, that were, doubtless, actuated by honest motives; but many have since joined in the scheme, who are reckless of all principle except that of money-making. The "scrip" being transferable, a large portion of it has fallen into the hands of needy adventurers, who likewise are willing to encourage any measures that may seem calculated to promote their immediate pecuniary interests.

These land speculations have extended to, perhaps, a majority of the cities and villages of the United States, the British colonies in America, and the settlements of foreigners in all the eastern parts of Mexico. All concerned in them are aware that a change in the government of the country must take place, if their claims shall be ever legalized.

The advocates of slavery, in our southern states and elsewhere, want more land on this continent suitable for the culture of sugar and cotton; and if Texas, with the adjoining portions of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Santa Fe, east of the Rio Bravo del Norte, can be wrested from the Mexican government, room will be afforded for the redundant slave population of the United States, even to a remote period of time. The following may be taken as a fair estimate of the dimensions of this extensive region, in square miles, and in English acres. It is calculated from the boundaries of the different departments, as marked in Tanner's Map of Mexico, revised in 1834:—

	Square miles.	English acres.
Texas, (proper),	165,000	104,560,000
Tamaulipas, east of Rio		
Bravo,	13,000	8,960,000
Coahuila, do. do.	7,000	4,480,000
Chihuahua, do. do.	9,000	5,760,000
Santa Fe, do. do.	107,000	68,480,000
Total,	301,000	192,240,000

The breeders of slaves, in those parts of the United States where slave labor has become unprofitable,—and also the traffickers in human flesh, whether American or foreign, desire an extended market, which Texas would afford if revolutionized, and governed as well as inhabited by those who are in favor of re-establishing the system of slavery in that section of country. The northern land speculators most cheerfully co-operate with the southern slaveholders, in the grand scheme of aggression, with the hope of immense gain; and the slave merchants play into the hands of both, with the same heartless, avaricious feelings and views. The principal seat of operations, for the first, is New York,—though some active and regular agencies are established at New Orleans and Nashville, and minor agencies in other places. The second exercise their influence individually, without any particular organization; while the third co-operate with all, as opportunities present themselves. They have subsidized presses at command, ready to give extensive circulation to whatever they may wish to publish in furtherance of their views. And orators, legislators, and persons holding official stations under our federal government, are deeply interested in their operations, and frequently willing instruments to promote their cause.

Such are the motives for action—such the combination of interests—such the organization, sources of influence, and foundation of authority, upon which the present Texas Insurrection rests. The resident colonists compose but a small fraction of the party concerned in it. The standard of revolt was raised as soon as it was clearly ascertained that slavery could not be perpetuated, nor the illegal speculations in land continued under the government of the Mexican Republic. The Mexican authorities were charged with acts of oppression, while the true causes of the revolt—the motives and designs of the insurgents—were studiously concealed from the public view. Influential slaveholders are contributing money, equipping troops, and marching to the scene of conflict. The land speculators are fitting out expeditions from New York and New Orleans, with men, munitions of war, provisions, &c., to promote the object. The Independence of Texas is declared, and the system of slavery, as well as the slave trade, (with the United States,) is fully recognized by constitutional regulation. Commissioners are sent from Texas to the United States, to make formal representations, enlist the sympathies of our citizens, and solicit aid in every way that it can be furnished. The subsidized presses are actively employed in magnifying the successes of the insurgents; misrepresenting the character and strength of the Mexican forces; and by inflammatory appeals urging forward the ignorant, the unsuspecting, the adventurous and the daring, to a participation in the struggle.

I have now traced the subject of the Texian Revolt through the whole concatenation of its primary causes and objects. I have unfolded to the view of the attentive reader what I know to be the motives and intentions of its instigators. I have, by this means, endeavored to undeceive the honest portion

of the great American community, who have not had sufficient opportunities to penetrate the veil of their masked designs, and have been imposed upon by their false pretensions. The very acts of the insurgents—even the whole systematic course of their proceedings—prove clearly the correctness of my charges and exposures. It will be seen that, instead of a desire to establish and perpetuate the liberal institutions of freedom and equality of rights, they have taken up arms against their government from motives of personal aggrandizement, avaricious adventure, and unlimited, enduring oppression. Having conscientiously discharged what I conceive to be a solemn obligation to the cause of truth, of justice and humanity, I shall now leave the subject to the serious consideration and calm reflection of my fellow citizens.

COLUMBUS.

Philadelphia, May, 1836.

NOTE.

It may be proper to state, for the information of the reader, that, on the appearance of the first or second number of the foregoing essays, in the "National Gazette," the author was immediately attacked by a writer in the "Pennsylvania Inquirer," over the signature of "ARRICUS." This writer was, evidently, a man of talent and intelligence; and in a brief exordium, he promised to show that many of the statements in the essays were incorrect, and of course the reasoning false. But, notwithstanding his confident tone—his unqualified assumptions, in the commencement, he very soon abandoned the field of controversy, without having disproved a single assertion, or invalidated a single fact or argument advanced by "COLUMBUS."

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* See the extract from the "Nashville Banner," in the preceding number of these essays. The article was written precisely at this juncture—and the writer concludes by saying, "there is not one moment to be lost."